566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

438 317 Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

439 Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

439 435 Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi. In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

285 The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa) than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
● 435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': 435 it is practised among members of the aristocracy only; it consists in offering members of the ruling 565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(B)]

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[273] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[443] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisher-folk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

When the Batutsi buy women, they use cows and beer jugs as units of value. The Bahutu of south Ruanda use iron hoes as units of value (spade money), whereas the Bahutu of the north, especially those from Mulera, measure the value of women in cows.

435 Prices. Prices differ greatly throughout the country and are subject to great fluctuations. The value of European goods is rapidly depreciating. In order to give an idea of the relative value of individual objects, I shall list a few prices as expressed in equivalent units:

Small hut	one large goat.
Large jug of beer	one hoe.
Sword (ngota)	one small hoe.
Pot for water or for cooking	1/8 to 1/15 of a hoe.
Hoe	150 to 250 gilded glass beads in the year 1907. Great fluctuation in price according to the fashion.
Mat	1/3 to 1/4 of a hoe.
Day's wage of a man	1/5 of a hoe.
Tobacco leaf	1/250 of a hoe.
One fathom of material (upande Amerikani)	two hoes.
A load of tobacco, 400 to 600 leaves	one upande.

Tobacco from Bugoye and Bushiru is sold in packages of 50 leaves. About ten packages comprise a load. Ordinary kinds of tobacco such as are grown everywhere have no commercial significance.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

[422] The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

233 825 When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an inconvenient time during a journey or while grazing at such a distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 437 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband. 581 583

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s.* and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets: and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s.* or 11*s.* and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s.*: a goat worth 4*s.* or 5*s.*: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s.*), the result is: 583 435

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s.*
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 13 hoes.
20*s.*, 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 11 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 27 pots of beer.
11*s.*, 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s.*, 2 pots of beer.
10*s.*, 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s.*
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s.*, cloth value 3*s.*
10*s.*
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).	7 hoes.
1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.	4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.	1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).	2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
1 cow, 5 hoes (four times).	5 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 5 pots of beer.	4 hoes (twice).
1 cow (thirteen times).	1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a standard fee of 2*s.* in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

A summary of the analysis shows:

20 cases of payment in cattle alone.				
10	"	"	of cattle with hoes.	
1	"	"	"	" beer.
8	"	"	"	" hoes and beer.
1	"	"	"	" beer and cash.

11 cases of payment in hoes alone.			
6	"	"	of hoes with beer.
3	"	"	of cash with beer.
1	"	"	of cash with cloth.
1	"	"	of cash alone.
1	"	"	of hoes and cloth.
3	"	"	of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in